

# THE BLACK PANTHER

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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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*"We will never allow  
Soviet Revisionists to  
invade and occupy  
China's sacred territory  
- Chenpao Island."*



RUSSIA-U.S. CONSPIRE TO TRICK CHINA INTO WAR

SEE PAGE 10



**EDITOR'S NOTE:** This article is reprinted for the second time due to mistakes in its first printing. The Black Panther Community News Services wishes to give correct and concise information to the Community which it serves.

## Feature Article:



# BLACK CAPITALISM AND WHAT IT MEANS

By Landon Williams

While reading the paper the other day, I saw where Oakland has been made a target area for tricky Dick Nixon's BLACK CAPITALISM PLAN. It seems to me that a further analysis of capitalism in general and black capitalism in particular seems to be forthcoming. (When we check the history of various countries on this planet we find that many nations and races have gone through a capitalistic hog. When we check Russian history we find that with the ending of the rule of the Czar, Russian capitalism came to an end. When we check the history of China and yellow capitalism we find that with the coming to power of Mao Tse-tung and the communist party of China, that feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism to which the yellow people in China were subjected had been crushed. When we check the history of other countries that have gone capitalistic, such as India and brown capitalism, we find that today India is in a constant state of turmoil.

I think that in viewing capitalist countries we should take into consideration the basic drives, motivations and the fundamental reasons for the things that occur in capitalistic countries. For instance, in checking the economy we find that in capitalistic countries a high unemployment rate, sometimes 10-15%, is not something spectacular, but rather that is order for a capitalist economy to maintain a demand

economy. This type of unemployment rate is essential as a check on inflation. In further checking on capitalism and how it is related to black people in this country, if we want to find out what capitalism has in store for us all we have to do is look around and dig on our present situation because the conditions that black people are in in this country is directly due to capitalism and the exploitation that we have suffered at the hands of the racist capitalist ruling classes here in racist America. We find that during the days of the slave trade, capitalist merchants along this country's coastline sea-board got filthy rich off of the blood, the tears and the sweat of black people who were transported in the bottoms of ships, packed like sardines, in this racist decadent country to work and slave and be in the fields to build this country.

Capitalism, as we all know, in order to exist must have something or someone to exploit. What we have here in America is super capitalism, super exploitation, trinkets and beads are being sold to the people for exorbitantly high prices. In dealing with black capitalism or the little of it that we have experienced in this country by checking J. A. Rogers 100 AMAZING FACTS ABOUT THE NEGRO we find that prior to the civil war there were small black capitalists in this country. These black capitalists in a certain extent enjoyed some of the

benefits and privileges of this country insofar as they were called free-men and as such they could own slaves and property. In checking through history we find that most of these freedmen or miniature black capitalists had no concern or feeling whatsoever for the rest of their black brothers and sisters and in many instances they were more brutal than the white slave masters and blamed their brothers for keeping them from enjoying all the fruits of the white capitalist class. During the civil war when the North and the South supposedly fought to free the slaves we find that some of these black capitalists in fact fought on the side of the confederacy to help maintain the exploitation over their black brothers. So when black people begin to see words such as capitalism it should appall them.

You see, we've been trained in this country so that whenever we see the word communist, for instance, most black people will be startled but yet they see the word capitalism and it more or less doesn't phase them at all. They just continue on. It's just an everyday word, it's something that they've come up around. But I think that if black people would stop and really check out that word capitalism and what capitalism means on an everyday basis, they would begin to be appalled by the word. Myself, when I saw this thing Oakland being in on black capitalism it was that with a very very

terrifying thing because like I've said we've had examples of what capitalism has done.

Black people in this country must begin to form the correct concepts in their minds when they hear the word capitalism. In this country in schools the little training they do give us when they deal with American capitalism they deal with and teach you about the democracy and tries to teach you about the capitalism. The results are that when black people see the words "Oakland is in on black capitalism" immediately instead of the star spangled banner begin to play through their heads and they see the flag waving when what they should be seeing is the raping of people of color in Viet Nam and the murder of Che Guevara in Bolivia by racist U.S. C.I.A. agents. Also when we think about capitalism we should think about our brothers and sisters in the Congo. There's a pamphlet called REVOLUTION IN THE CONGO which every black person in America should read and you will find out how capitalism operates. For instance when the U.S. intervened in the Congo and Patrice Lumumba, the people's choice for Premier, was murdered by that traitorous dog Tshombe who was a running dog for the U.S. and Belgian capitalists, and that five liberal Kennedy. At the time of the U.S. intervention there were large copper mines in Katanga and other

provinces in the Congo. There's a firm in the U.S. called Kennecott mines and they control most of the world's supply of copper. Well, at the time of the Congo intervention the supply of copper had begun to outstrip the demand and the price of copper had begun to drop. Well, these capitalists who sit up at Chase Manhattan Bank and other large banks and industries made millions selling excess U.S. 10,000 lb. bombs to bomb the mining industry and the people of the Congo into rubble, thus besting down the competition.

In America today the capitalist businessman and landlord exploits you at the store and home and then at the same time he goes in church and levels his big hypocritical pork chop ass down and talks about brotherhood and do unto others as you would have them do unto you. And when you ask him how does he justify this capitalist business practices he just goes on. He gives you this simple phrase that business is business. Well, I think we should take a very close look at just what is capitalist business. As I said in the Congo it consists of dropping 10,000 lb. bombs on black people there. Prior to WWII the capitalist in this country who run the junk yards were making millions of dollars by selling scrap iron and steel to the Japanese imperialists who were waging an un-

Cont'd on Page 1







# RENEGADE PHILOSOPHY

EDITORIAL STATEMENT BY BIG MAN, CO-EDITOR

In dealing with the question of renegades, the Black Panther Party checks out Chairman Mao and China's arc renegade Liu Shao-Chi.

Former members of the Black Panther Party who have been classified as renegades choose to draw their terminology as to what renegade really means from Webster's abridged "pocket" dictionary of course this is extreme narrow-mindedness.

The Black Panther Party draws its conclusions from successfully practiced theories and examples. We learn from Chairman Mao that, kneeling before the enemy for allowing him a despicable life, a renegade is a criminal to history, a mangy dog that wags its tail in asking pardon from the enemy at the cost of betraying the revolution and the comrades. In depicting a renegade from the proletarian stand, one must expose his base and vile soul, condemn his crimes of betraying the people and the revolution and repudiate the decadent renegade philosophy which puts survival above everything.

When he kills people, a pirate excuses himself with the logic of a pirate; a renegade also has his theory for defending himself. China's prime example of a renegade says, "a man representing the proletariat... really wanted to make revolution at the beginning, but he became a renegade afterwards."

According to this logic, a renegade who once "represented the proletariat" only "became a renegade afterwards," so he naturally has both "merits" and "faults" and therefore is a forgivable man whose "merits offset his faults" or he even is a "hero" who has more merits than faults. Mao says, "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brands of a class." In the eyes of the proletariat, renegades never have been true revolutionaries, but worms and opportunists who sneaked into the revolutionary ranks.

Falling at the enemy's feet and betraying the revolution, one's comrades and brothers, and own soul, all to save one's own life, these are crimes that can never be forgiven. Yet a renegade takes a stand and tries to sell his betrayal of the masses as being justified. He espouses his acts as a philosophy of survival. In his eyes, oneself is everything and one's life is EVERYTHING. The Party's interests, revolutionary principles and national dignity could all be sold provided "his own life and health could be protected."

Renegades fail to understand that "wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice and when we die for the people it is a worthy death." They need only to check out historical revolutions, to understand that thousands of revolutionary martyrs who laid down their lives for the interests of the people were fighters that would have rather lost their lives and shed their blood than lose their revolutionary integrity.

## DIP'S DUGOUT

This is a letter regarding the recent accusations that were printed in the most recent publication of the "BLACK PANTHER." There you called some people COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES AND ALSO there were some you named as RENEGADES. This is where I am involved. I do not consider myself a RENEGADE, and I can't even see where any of you on the central committee could have the wee minds to vote and truthfully say this about me. Maybe you don't know the meaning of the word RENEGADE, but in case you are not down with it I will enlighten

your vocabulary.

RENEGADE: ONE WHO ABANDONS HIS PARTY, PRINCIPALS, TO JOIN THE OPPOSITION, A TRAITOR.

And now that we are down with the meaning, I, for one, think there is a public apology in store for myself, because you and I both know that was a false statement. Although I might be an OPPORTUNISTICAL INDIVIDUALISTIC PERSON... MAYBE A REVOLUTIONARY AND NOT AN IMAGE.

— Tommy Jones, Jr.

REACTIONARIES FROM THE EAST OAKLAND CHAPTER, THESE PEOPLE ARE NO LONGER MEMBERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

1. Joe Johnson
2. Roosevelt Green
3. Andrew West
4. Robert Harris
5. Robert E. Harris
6. Richard Anderson
7. Carl Thomas Powell
8. Kenneth Hagston
9. Toni Whitfield
10. Tina Maria Belcher
11. Alicia Grace
12. Frank West
13. Harold Spencer
14. Winston Ross
15. Diane Edwards
16. James Flores
17. Al Brown
18. Linda Harrison
19. Bradley Woods
20. Patrick Doss
21. Edwin Murphy
22. Lydia Balada
23. Bill McCoy
24. Diddy Haywood
25. Tamara Lacey
26. Kenneth Clark
27. Samuel R. Henry
28. Sheila Keys
29. Gwen Hardin
30. Tarrt Wright
31. Diane Woods
32. Samuel Blair
33. Anthony Murray
34. James Finley
35. David Martin
36. James Fairmon
37. Craig Logan
38. Willie West



## DAY NOT FAR OFF WHEN GUARDSMEN WILL REFUSE

About three years ago I was drafted by everyone's favorite uncle. At the time neither Vietnam nor Canada was my cup of tea (neither was American "justice" and subsequent imprisonment), so I panicked and joined the California National Guard. I won't attempt at this time to list the title of the politician's army, as it is known. Let it suffice to say that everything that is true about the Army is true to a large degree about the Guard also.)

What I have been trying to say (and you should find it somewhat encouraging) is that there is a growing opposition to the War among guardsmen, and many have not only declared their refusal to go to Vietnam but aren't interested in hearing Oakland's black residents over the head for demanding their constitutional rights -- or any other black Americans, for that matter. Oakland is merely the focal point of our unit's current paranoia.

I'm not in a position to apologize for the actions of a few guardsmen in Chicago and Watts. And believe me when I say that most of them would rather have been home, or

perhaps on the other side of the fence. Many conscientious guardsmen who were led to believe they "had a job to do" were sickened by the brutality and hostility of a few demagogic officers and lifers at Watts. Many of these men learned a valuable lesson, and while no one can reclaim the lives unjustly taken at Watts, I personally know quite a few guardsmen who would go to jail rather than participate in this kind of butchery again.

The day is not far off when the National Guard will refuse to fire on the people (as in the French Revolution) and will join and support them instead. It's a sad reality that many are dimly aware of this and constantly harass troops to get haircuts and shave mustaches, which are considered by them to be "hippie embellishments." They would do better, of course, to let the hair grow and try to break a little, but in their simple minds if a guy looks straight he's safe. Ha, ha, ha! How little these simple bastards know!

Yours in hopes for peace,  
SP 4

Calif. National Guard

# WORKERS

BY BOB AVAKIAN

Beginning Friday (March 21) at 6 p.m., a demonstration will be held in solidarity with striking workers at the Chevron Chemical Company in Richmond. Chevron Chemical is a "wholly owned subsidiary" of Standard Oil, and part of the same giant complex as the Richmond refinery. The solidarity demonstration is being held in memory of Richard Jones, an oil worker who was murdered by Standard Oil during the 8 week strike against the refinery. On January 5 while picketing a Standard Oil Bulk Station near Martinez, Jones was run over by a Standard Oil tanker, waved on by a Supervisor who saw Jones fall under the truck, but ordered the driver to go ahead anyway. On February 20, Jones died.

The workers at the Standard Oil refinery have since won their strike. But their union brothers at the Chevron Chemical plants are still out on strike. The company -- Standard Oil, negotiating through its puppet corporation, Chevron Chemical -- is trying to force the Chevron workers to go back to work without the union shop agreement they have had for 20 years. Without this union shop the company can divide the workers and reduce them to scraps at the complete mercy of the modern-day plantation owners who run the giant imperialist monopolies like Standard Oil.

Standard Oil, with its billionaire bosses, is one of the most vicious tentacles of the octopus of U.S. imperialism that extends its racist oppression and exploitation throughout the world. Standard is controlled by the Rockefeller family -- which rules a vast financial empire that concentrated its super-exploitation in Africa, South Africa in particular.

The Rockefellers use their biggest bank, Chase-Nicholson, to manipulate the economy and the politics of the racist dictatorship of South Africa, where black workers in the Standard Oil plants and other large companies controlled by Rockefeller money are forced to work like slaves for less than a dollar a day. The gold, oil, copper and other valuable resources of Africa, are stolen by the Rockefellers, and their imperialist henchmen, from under the feet of the oppressed people who are forced to live at near-starvation levels.

Standard Oil also steals oil from the Middle East, South America, Indonesia and South Vietnam. The Rockefellers and their cronies have been responsible for the criminal war of aggression and genocide against the people of Vietnam. In Indonesia, after President Sukarno threatened to nationalize some of Standard's stolen oil, Standard simply got the head of the C.I.A., John McCone (who then owned about one million dollars stock in Standard) to work with right-wing Generals to overthrow Sukarno and give Standard back the Indonesian people's oil. This was in October 1965. Since then, the Fascist generals who control Sukarno in collaboration with the C.I.A. have executed over one half million Indonesian peasants, workers, students and Communist revolutionaries. And these military puppets have actually returned the oil to Standard -- plus some new oil fields for exploitation. (John McCone retired from the C.I.A. and was made a member of the Board of Directors of Standard Oil.)

In this country itself Standard is a vicious enemy of both third world peoples and the masses of working people. Standard and its

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CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK

# THE POWER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aim, for the enforcement of the immediate interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." - Marx, Engels in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

In my last article I pointed out that there has never been an organization in the U.S., to my knowledge, including the one founded on the theory of the above decree, that has been able to carry forth this dual-principled program. Each one has either lost sight of its revolutionary perspective and fallen into the pit of reformism or has been verbally revolutionary only, not caring to deal with the daily demands of the people, thereby isolating themselves from the people.

I believe that the Panthers can fulfill that double role; indeed, they have proven it in several ways since their inception a scant 3 years ago. When Huey and Bobby carried on their armed patrols; when the Panthers marched into the State Legislature, armed, they showed the people not only their willingness to practice their theory, but they shot the old divine-right-of-government theory full of holes. (No pun intended. But there it is.) The government was vulnerable; it could be beaten. Now, we all know it. They proved also, the legality of carrying weapons: a lesson not only for immediate self-defense, but opening the door or preparation for the final confrontation. Self-defense is no longer a vague hope to be hidden in closets and discussed in hushed tones. It has become, with Huey's tutoring, a reality, a visible presence, a practice, a practice that is becoming increasingly widespread; there are now armed patrols in several cities across the country and people are advocating it now who said "no" a word before. Let alone, "Arm Yourself!"

When the Panthers knocked on doors talking to people about the political candidates of Huey, Bobby, Eldridge and Kathleen, they

were carrying out the first, the most important organizing tactic: talk with the people, know the people and their needs and discuss what action is necessary to satisfy those needs. Huey and Bobby, they referred constantly - and applied it to the Panther Program. The Panther Program is the demands of the people; a written expression of both the immediate and long-range needs while recognizing, as stated clearly in Point #7 that all of these cannot be satisfied under the present system of economic exploitation. If full employment cannot be guaranteed - and it most definitely cannot if super profits are to be maintained - then the people must take over the basic means of production and run the businesses and industries by themselves, for themselves. Self-determination for the Black Colony will never be given by the colonial rulers; it will have to be taken. Here is a perfect example of fulfilling the 2 basic components - reform and revolution: We want freedom. There are lots of daily freedoms that are partially attainable under capitalism: more jobs, better housing, instantaneity, more representation, even community control of police and schools are possibilities; freedoms that will cost the profit-mongers less to give than to withhold - with the proper threats and perhaps a little PHYSICAL pressure. But the ultimate freedom, self-determination is unobtainable without revolt.

The breakfast program is another example of meeting immediate needs within a revolutionary perspective. It is, of course, a humanitarian thing to do; no child should be hungry, ever. But it is the Panthers, a political party with revolutionary orientation that has initiated and is carrying through the program. Why should they bother with hungry kids? Because kids are the only insurance we have of a new and different tomorrow and no premium is too high to pay. Educational skills are important; reading and writing are good things to know and when that time comes, as it inevitably will, when they learn that what they are

reading and writing is irrelevant, they will have the tools with which to fight for something meaningful, for control of the schools, of who teaches and what is taught; for the implementation of Point #5.

Finally, to answer the other question posed at the beginning of this 2-part article, how have the people accepted the Panther program? I think this is most clearly demonstrated by living examples. First, to be expected, is the program of the Black Student Union. It is simply the Panther platform applied to the specific needs of the school population. Apparently, the BPP program applies not only to the people in the community, but also to young people enmeshed in the phony, lying educational system dying society offers.

Secondly, the program of the Brown Berets, written to meet the needs of the Spanish-speaking community is similar in many ways to the Panther program. Let's look at some of their demands. Point #4: "We demand that the true history of the Mexican-American be taught in all schools in the 5 Southwest States." #5 demands that "all police officers in Mexican-American communities must live in the community and speak Spanish." (Community control of police). #6: "We demand that all Mexican-Americans be tried by juries consisting of only Mexican-Americans." (A poor jury as demanded in BPP Point #9) #10: "We demand the right to keep and bear arms to defend our communities against racist police, as guar-

anteed under the Second Amendment of the U.S. Constitution." Obviously, the original 10-point BPP platform, written for the Black community, expresses also the demands of other Third World peoples. The Brown Beret motto, incidentally, is TO SERVE - TO OBSERVE - TO PROTECT, first practiced in the north by Huey P. Newton, in 1966.

But what of the Mothercountry poor, exploited by the same profit-hungry capitalists? What of the white working class - that essential ally for a revolutionary victory? Late class community of Cleveland, Ohio. The first section under the heading WHAT WE WANT has 10-points, among which are:

2) We want freedom from robbery and control by the corporations. (Refer to Point #3, BPP platform.)

3) We want power for the working people to control the basic means of production such as industry and agriculture. (Point #2, BPP platform.)

4) We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this corrupt, racist, rich man's society. We want an education that teaches us the true history of the people. (Point #5, BPP platform.)

7) We want compensation for poor people and the victims of racism. (Point #3, BPP Platform.)

8) We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black, white and brown working people. We want the courts and prison system to protect the working people rather than the property of the rich. (Point #7, BPP platform.)

9) We want an end to the Draft. We want a working people's militia formed to defend our country, based on the Constitutional right to bear arms. (Point #6, BPP)

10) As a first step, we want a truce signed between black, white and brown working people, in the community and on the job, as we recognize that fighting among ourselves only serves the rich. (I include this last point, not because of similarity, but rather because it demands a necessity - and holds a beautiful promise.)

The second section entitled WHAT WE BELIEVE, explains the first 10 points and at the beginning of the 10th point, there is a quote: "When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds..."

The program is based entirely on the class structure of this society and the need for a black-white working class coalition, which is correct for a white community as the exploitation of white workers is purely a class factor,

but it is obviously patterned after the BPP Platform.

It is clear that the Panthers are implementing their program around the fulfillment of the immediate needs of the Black Community - and plan to continue with programs like free health clinics, liberation schools to fill the educational chasm created by the public schools and community control of various aspects of its life. The program is being tested - and it's working. And it is obvious from the above that the program is a universal one, applicable to all working people.

Whatever the Panthers have done has been done in a revolutionary manner; in all areas of struggle they have maintained and verbalized their understanding of the necessity to qualitatively alter this decaying, most corrupt of all economic systems.

What is the probability of the BPP falling into the reformist trap or being left out on the purely revolutionary limb? I cannot envision the present leadership leading us into the boiling pot of reformism. Reformism is a result of either the inability or unwillingness to recognize the primary enemy - Monopoly Capitalism or to compromise that knowledge. The Panthers KNOW the Enemy and with their total commitment to the people, cannot compromise at this time. The danger lies in the possibility of the struggle going on indefinitely with the present leadership forced into inactivity by imprisonment or physical harm (Reason #1 why they must be protected) and the younger, not yet politically mature being sucked into the system via the Poverty Program or some other lying promise. Neither can I foresee an isolationist revolutionary demise of the Party - for 3 reasons: a) The community activities being carried on today are an evident attempt to meet the immediate demands of the Black community; successfully - judging from the breakfast program; educationally, in terms of the political campaign. b) There is an enormous revolutionary potential within the Black working class which will intensify, thereby bringing the people ever closer to the Party and c) The Panthers, having come from the poor, identify with the people more than with doctored theory. Isolation is the result of intellectual rather than emotional involvement.

That is why I'm convinced that the Black Panther Party has the program that will not only heal the wounds and fractures in the Colony, but will ultimately lead us all out of the horror that is capitalism into the promise that is Socialism.



## HUEY AND RIO GRANDE COLLEGE

Why should students on this campus be concerned with Huey P. Newton, Defense Minister of the Black Panther Party -- an Afro-American now serving 2-15 years in one of California's prisons?

Why should R.G.C. students be concerned that Huey's "initial" trial is over -- Let's look at the implications.

In 1966 Huey took a long look at Oakland. He saw that people had no voice -- no control -- no power. He recognized that the people were intimidated and oppressed. Huey said "we got to get together -- we got to ORGANIZE and demand that WE DETERMINE our own DESTINY."

Now the Omnipotent Administrators got real uptight. It was alright if Huey attended school and dreamed of becoming a "colored" lawyer and good solid citizen. But Huey realized that the people have no rights and that pig power was keeping the people

down. Huey said "we want people power -- we want to decide who will educate us." Again the Omnipotent Administrators got uptight. They said "Huey those are groovy demands. Obtain them through the 'proper legal channels.'"

Well, as we at R.G.C. can fully appreciate, Brother Huey had to laugh that one off. He said "THERE ARE NO PROPER CHANNELS. Legality is based on the whims of Administrators."

This was the last groove. The pig Omnipotent Administrators blew it. They told Huey: "Nigger! as far as Oakland is concerned EITHER LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT," Huey replied "OFF THE PIG!"

You see, Huey loves the people. He didn't let any power-mad Administrators intimidate him. Dig it. Once more, Huey replied "OFF THE PIG!" Now we got it off? -- Written in "Friend" by Stephen Trojansovich

## Remember Brother Malcolm





## EDITORIAL



## PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL

LOS ANGELES, Calif. (JNS)—More than 300 people gathered at a recreation center in the black community of Los Angeles March 1 where the Black Alternative, a new black community group here, held a community tribunal against various leaders of the Black Congress.

The Black Alternative is a loose coalition of various black militant groups in L.A., ranging from the Black Panther Party to SNCC. The Black Alternative was organized about two months ago under the leadership of Margaret Wright, a well-known leader in the black community here.

The black community tribunal charged the leaders of the Black Congress (which itself is a supposed interella organization claiming membership of some 50 black "grass roots" organizations in L.A.) with committing "crimes against the interests of the black community."

Specifically, the charges were that the leaders in question—Walt Bremond, Ron Karenga, and Haygen Robinson—were "Jediet

in their day to the black community, showed cowardice in the face of the enemy, refused to be held accountable for the money which they received and finally created turmoil and hysteria in the black community which led directly to the deaths of John Higgins and "Bunchy" Carter of the Black Panther Party."

Some 30 black community leaders were "subpoenaed" by the tribunal to testify against Bremond, Karenga and Robinson. Various members of the five-man tribunal board presented evidence themselves to show that Bremond, as director of the Black Congress, had collected within a five-month period, more than \$50,000, which was unaccounted for later. It was an accident, the tribunal hinted, that after this financial loss was discovered, Bremond held a press conference and then resigned as director of the Black Congress.

Dr. Hayes, of the Afro-American Association, detailed several other charges against Bremond and the Black Congress. According to Hayes, the Black Congress, before

its collapse, did not represent five groups, let alone the 50 it claimed to represent. According to him, Bremond and Karenga were the Black Congress.

Hayes also said that within a period of five months the Black Congress staff had received over \$15,000 in salaries. Hayes also charged that Bremond himself is solely interested in gaining personal power and wealth. And as a consequence, Hayes held that Bremond was directly responsible for creating the bitter climate that led to the assassinations of Higgins and Carter at UCLA. (Also, the US organization, led by Karenga, is a principal in the Black Congress. US was deeply implicated in the murders of the two Panthers.)

After Hayes finished, Margaret Wright dealt with the charge that the Black Congress "showed cowardice in the face of the enemy." Mrs. Wright explained that the Black Congress has never stood up forcefully for the rights of black people in Los Angeles.

She pointed out that the Black

Congress never offered to help the Black Student Union in their struggles against the racist administrations on Southern California college or high school campuses.

She noted that this was particularly noticeable during the recent black student action at San Fernando Valley State College. She further revealed that the Black Congress, after the assassination of Dr. King, attempted to collaborate with the cops to keep L.A. "cool," rather than trying to protect black people against the racist attacks of the police.

Brother Crook, head of SNCC in L.A., was the last to testify. He told of how the Black Congress received grants from both the Ford and the Rockefeller Foundations. Crook described how the Black Congress took Rockefeller money and opened up a string of fast-food gas stations throughout the black community. Thus the Black Congress, according to him, was moving intently on Nixon's "black capitalism" plan.

Crook also said that the Black

Congress gave tacit support to the entire slate of Democratic candidates during the 1968 presidential election. Crook finally pointed out that Bremond, in addition to being director of the Black Congress, also maintained positions on the "Urban Coalition," and the "Brotherhood Crusade," of which Bremond is president. He intends to raise \$3 million ostensibly for programs in the black community. It was noted that the managing board of the "Brotherhood Crusade," with the exception of Karenga, Bremond and some other black people, is composed largely of white businessmen.

The tribunal closed by asking for a vote on the guilt or innocence of the accused leaders. The vote from the audience was in such charge unanimous. Bremond, in particular, along with Karenga and Robinson, stood convicted. Although it was stipulated beforehand that there would be no punishment, the black community, it was hoped, would make the final decision on what would ultimately be done with the three.



## RE: PAT (BOOTLICKING) ALEXANDER

In a recent article of your newspaper, the *Herald-Dispatch*, you made several FALSE, UNDISCLOSED, UNCLE TOM, REACTIONARY, COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY statements about the Black Panther Party. You stated first, that we are a "WHITE financed organization. Second, you stated that we are a "gangster" organization.

Let me make it clear that NO ONE but the masses finance the Panther Party. The Panther Party exists off selling buttons, posters, and newspapers. Any donations we get, we pay office rents and bail people out of jails. Our donations

come from ALL kinds of people, black, white, green and yellow! However, you and your black capitalist newspaper certainly haven't seen us any donations! What are you doing for ANY black movement besides murder-murdering and selling your Uncle Tom newspapers.

The Black Panther Party is NOT a gangster organization. WE ARE a political party with political ideology and direction. It would behoove you to do investigation before writing reactionary articles in your paper. I would though like to see that your primary concern is money, NOT educating the masses

as to what is going on in their community and in the world. Instead of educating them with the truth, you have sunk to the level of the 1920s by writing lies and half truths to keep the black masses in the dark and to keep on good terms with the capitalists and bourgeois.

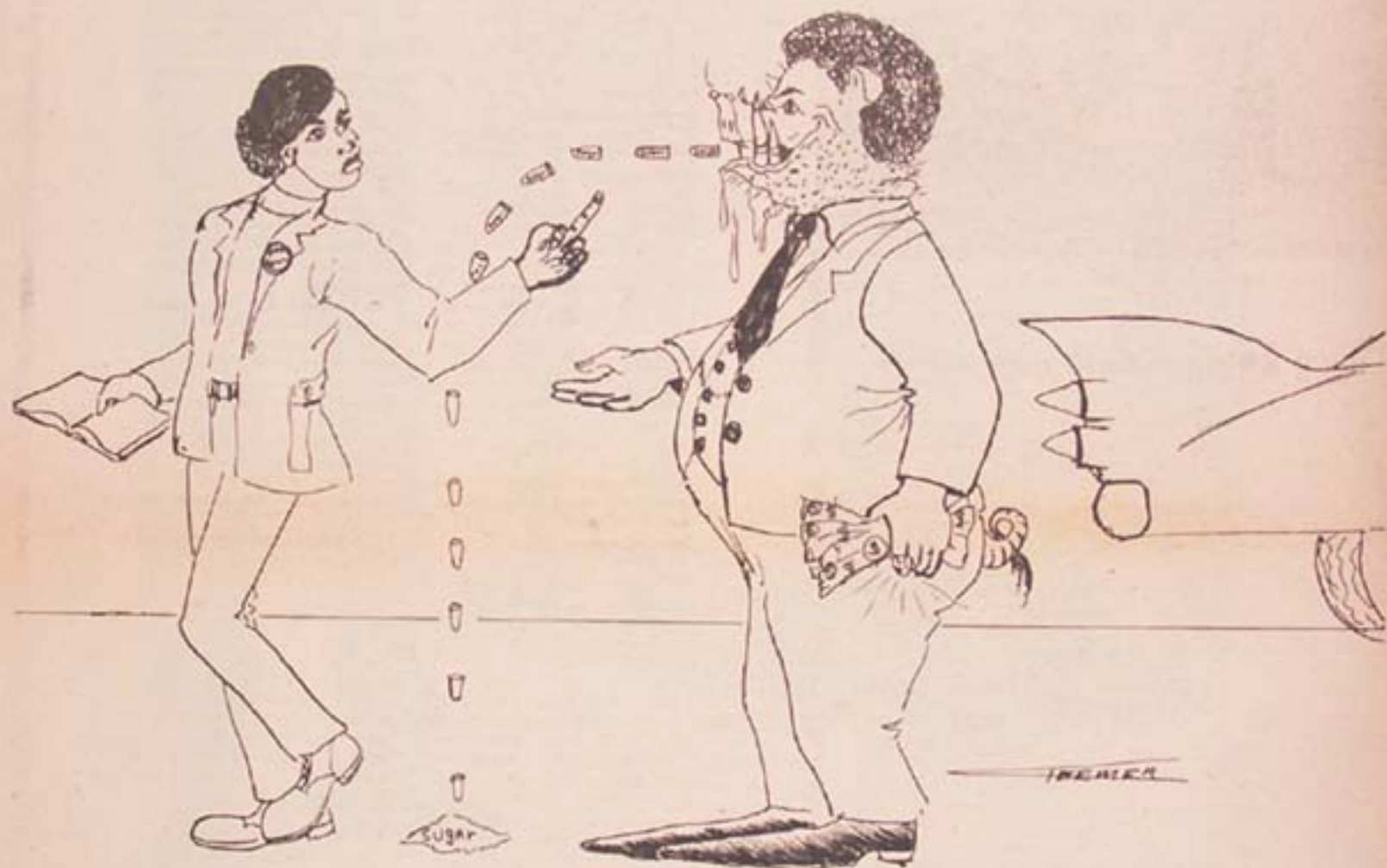
So your newspaper has been here for 18 years! In 18 years you've learned the tricks of the trade. You have successfully learned how to trick, deceive and swindle black people for your own gain. Are such gains that you have to stoop so low for really worth it? Until you draw a clear

line of demarcation between yourself and the Uncle Tom pigs you will be considered and treated as such. Until you come back and face the reality of WHO you are and WHAT you are - and then facing this, place yourself back on the level of the people, you will be an alien. You will be among them but never one of them. You will be a black woman with a white mask using the tactics of the racist power structure, helping them to keep your people oppressed and forever ignorant as to what is going on around them. It is your duty as a black woman to at the VERY LEAST give your

people the truth in your paper. If you can't do that, then your newspaper should be in the black community!! We need people with a love for their people, not Uncle Tom!!!!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE  
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

Sobori  
Black Panther Party  
Los Angeles Chapter



## SMOKE SIGNAL

Dear Brother's:

I'm an American Choctaw Indian from Mississippi and I'm on parole. Naturally, I dig the Panthers a whole lot since I sure as hell ain't gonna believe all the jive that the white world says. Malcolm X made me dig how sick it was for me to believe all that jive. Now the Panthers made me see the whole thing from the basis of the economic forces in control of society and in terms of how there isn't anyone freedom in America today. So thanks again.

I've been asking everyone whom I think knows something about the Panthers, how you organize in the Black Community, because I hope to put all I have learned to rise in the Indian World, as soon as possible. Bill Epton, the Black leader of Progressive Labor Party said about The Panthers, in an interview in MUHAMMAD SPEAKS, "The only group I see that has the potential of evolving into a type of organization that can give leadership, is the Black Panthers . . . (The Panther) have

a Political program which is good and has the intention of building an organization. If they had a broader program, they probably could attract the Black working class. As it is now, they attract mainly teenage Black dropouts.

I've heard such great things about The Panthers love for the Black Community, and about how you organize in every level of struggle, in the schools and in the streets etc. But have you tried to organize black organizations of black trade union members or perhaps to organize Black Unions in places where that is possible? How about free KKKKK courses for blacks? Have you made a working alliance with the Black motorcycle gang that someone told me was happening out in the Bay Area? Perhaps you, and peace and Freedom could organize a meeting or conference to which rank and file trade union people would be invited to attend. At this time you could present your views about workers rights, and explain how the unions

are fucking them. How about organizing Fund Raising Concerts with Jim Hendrix, James Brown etc.

The Panthers are a great vanguard! You guys are standing up for everybody, as far as I'm concerned The Panthers are the only heroes of today, in this country. A Revolutionary Vanguard Movement has to be the leading force in almost all aspects of life in the community it is organizing. The Vanguard should not only be the political group of that community, it should allow people who are back porch musicians the right to perform in public. It should give papers and cryones to people who have always wanted to paint. It should sponsor black arts festivals and give training classes, Karate and courses about the political realities of the world. People should come to you when they have any grievances, like needing a new street light, or when their landlord is fucking them, and you should be able to organize them

for action, while you are leading that fight.

Organize church groups perhaps anything and everything. If you could spear-head a labor group like Deum in Detroit, and lead STRIKES, what a great thing that would be! If you could try to organize Black Panther Parties in prisons which lead inmate strikes and inmate educational programs etc. What a great thing that would be! If you organized in the U.S. Army, you would have a continual flow of trained revolutionaries coming back from overseas. Remember, many of the leaders of the Algerian Revolution were Algerians who had fought for their French masters in Vietnam!!

If you could have concerts where old and young rhythm and blues and jazz musicians could play for their black brothers and sisters, that would be great, groovy and soulful!

If you had Black Panthers making citizens arrests against op-

pressors (which is a legal thing to do), if you had representatives who could get people grievances in each and every tenement etc., in the U.S., and lead the people in organizing against their oppressors that would be beautiful.

I will be starting to organize the RED PANTHER movement as soon as I clear a few things up. Please forgive me if I got on your nerves with my ideas, which you've probably tried already. It's easier to think of a revolution, than to actually make it happen. I'll learn my lessons on the battlefield, like you Brothers have done already and are continuing to do.

Best of Luck, Best of Love, and if you maybe, you'll read this letter and get even a little something out of it, then I'm proud and overjoyed.

Yours for Freedom by any means necessary.

A Choctaw Indian



# ★ RED GUARD



RED GUARDS AND PANTHERS STUDYING WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG.

## Once Again - Police Brutality

The strategy employed here is "to unite to fight a common enemy." The Garment Contractors are pigs. They exploit the labor of 4,800 workers who slave in their sweatshops for seventy cents an hour. This is analogous to Mao's Red Army uniting with Chiang Kai-Shek's forces to oust Japanese Imperialists.

On Friday, March 13, the Red Guards attended a meeting with community elders from the Garment Contractors to discuss how to keep the white racist unions out of Chinatown, i.e., unions such as the Teamsters who are organizing the pigs and who use their guns to brutalize Board of Education meetings over dead issues like busing.

The Red Guard attended as security in case union goons were sent to break up the meeting at Powell and Pacific Streets. While the elders were discussing the formation of their own union in order to force the white racist unions away from Chinatown, work reached the meeting that pigs were harassing our security force posted outside. Apparently, a pig gave chase to a brother whom he thought was carrying a rifle (our right to bear arms is protected by the Second Amendment of the Constitution), but the brother got away. The pig then called for reinforcements from a gas station across the street, and re-crossed the street to tell the crowd, which was composed of Red Guards from the meeting, in discourse. The pig was met with verbal abuse when his reinforcements came. Pistol-wielding pig, David Usher, then told the Red Guard to "get off the street." The Guards told the pig that this was our community and that HE should get off OUR street. Besides, where do they expect street people to go, if we can't be on the streets?

By this time, there were three squad cars (12 pigs), three undercover cars (5 pigs), and one paddy wagon (2 pigs) on the scene. The Guard decided to return to the meeting at this time, but as they were entering the meeting hall, the elders had already adjourned the meeting and were in the process of leaving. After talking with the elders, the pigs started to retreat. As the last squad car was leaving, it was hit by two quart-sized soda-pop bottles which did no damage to either car nor its occupants. The pigs then got out of the car, clubs in hand, approached the crowd of Guards and elders and started to swing at a brother - not the one who threw the bottle. One pig gave chase to the brother and was tripped flat on his face. By this time, reinforcements had arrived again. They started to beat the crowd, hitting six people, injuring one sister, swinging at women including one pregnant sister, and attacking a camera man as they were dispersing. None of the elders were hit although they were swung at by the pigs.

At this time, one pig started to swing his club at our Minister of Culture, Wing Quan. Wing grabbed the club and the pig asked, "Get out of here." Wing started to leave but three other pigs approached him from behind and ordered him to "stop." All four of the pigs then proceeded to club him viciously on the head until he fell to the ground. He was then arrested on charges of assault with a deadly weapon (a felony), resisting arrest and possession of a deadly weapon (a pocket knife which never left his pocket). He was held on \$3,375 bail - bond was posted by the Garment Contractors. Wing's injuries were minor scalp lacerations. He was released that same night.

The question which arises is: Were the pigs there by accident? Answer: No! The Red Guard and the elders were meeting to try to keep the Teamsters out of Chinatown at the same time that Teamsters are organizing a Yellowmen's Union. The pigs were sent to break up the meeting so that the pig unions could exploit our workers for no benefits. The Red Guard says that they will protect their people from exploitation and brutality of this white racist pig power structure by any means necessary. OFF THE PIG!!

There will be a demonstration protesting police brutality of our people on Saturday, March 23, 1969 at Portsmouth Square (corner of Kearny and Washington Street, San Francisco at 1:00 PM. POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!

## POLITICAL PROGRAM

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our people, the Yellow Community.

We believe that Yellow people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our Yellow community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

3. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

4. We want all Yellow men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Yellow people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Yellow people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

5. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF Yellow People.

We believe we can end police brutality in our Yellow community by organizing Yellow self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our Yellow community from racist police aggression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We, therefore, believe that all Yellow people should arm themselves for self defense.

6. We want freedom for all Yellow men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all Yellow people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

7. We want all yellow people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer

group or people from their Yellow communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Yellow people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the Yellow community from which the Yellow defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man of the Yellow community."

8. We want adequate and free medical facilities available for the people in the Yellow community.

We know that Chinatown has the highest density area next to Manhattan. It also has the highest TB and sickness rate in the nation.

9. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white american businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living. There are thousands of immigrants coming into Chinatown every year and it is almost impossible for them to find gainful employment.

10. We demand that the United States government recognize the People's Republic of China.

We believe that MAO TSE-TUNG is the true leader of the Chinese people; not CHIANG KAI-SHEK. The government of the United States is now preparing for war against the Chinese People's Republic and against the Chinese people. The racist government of the United States has proven that it will put only peoples of color in concentration camps. American Indians were placed in concentration camps, Japanese were placed in concentration camps; therefore, it is logical that the next people that will be going are the Chinese people; because the United States is gearing its war time industrial complex for war against China.



RED GUARDS ATTEND POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASS AT PANTHER OFFICE.



# THE CHINESE PEOPLES REPUBLIC REPELS SOVIET AGGRESSION



BY LOVIS LARRIS AND  
BOB AVAKIAN

Araymen and civilians in their hundreds of millions throughout China are enraged at the extremely grave and bloody incident created by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which directed Soviet frontier troops flagrantly to intrude into Chinese territory on March 2. In Peking, the capital of our great motherland, one million araymen and civilians rallied and paraded yesterday, in strong protest against the towering crimes of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

Photo: Commanders and fighters of the Chinese P.L.A. stationed in Peking shout: "Down with the new Tsar!" "We vow to defend the sacred territory of our motherland at all costs!" during a demonstration before Tienanmen.

-- Hsinhua Radiophoto, Peking  
March 5, 1969

China upholds revolutionary tradition, leads struggles of oppressed peoples; Soviet Revisionists sell out to U.S. imperialism.

On March 3, Russian troops carried out a provocative attack on Chinese border guards at Chien-pai Island. The Chinese repelled the attack, wiping out many of the invading troops. In a radio broadcast the Chinese warned the ruling clique of the Soviet Union: "Should you dare to continue to instigate armed provocations, you will be resolutely, completely, cleanly and totally destroyed once and for all whether you come by land, by air or by sea and no matter how many of you come or with whom you come." The last part of the warning clearly refers to the conspiracy between the Soviet misleaders and the U.S. imperialists to harass, provoke, and attack the Chinese People's Republic.

The Chinese People's Republic guided by Chairman Mao-tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party, is the leading force in the worldwide revolutionary struggle of oppressed nations and laboring masses against the imperialist ruling classes, headed by the U.S. imperialists, together with their bootlicking collaborators, the Soviet revisionists. The Chinese revolution is a thorn in the side of the revisionists -- who have betrayed the Soviet working people by taking the country back to capitalism -- and betrayed the oppressed peoples of the world by selling out to the Rockefellers, the Fords, the Duponts and the rest of the criminal gang that makes up the U.S. imperialist ruling class.

How did the Soviet Union, which was once a socialist country and an inspiration to millions of down-trodden people throughout the world, come to be the accomplice of the U.S. imperialists? The Soviet Union was not always ruled by a handful of revisionists (capitalists in workers' clothing). Led by Lenin from 1917 to 1924, and by Stalin from 1924 to 1953, the Soviet Union was itself hated bitterly, gunned and hounded by the imperialists.

The Russian Revolution, in October, 1917 overthrew the Russian capitalists and created the first state ruled by the working class, in alliance with the poor peasants. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet red army turned back invasions by 14 imperialist countries, including the U.S. The Soviet revolution established self-

determination and autonomy for all the oppressed nationalities of old Tsarist Russia; overcame the treachery and defection of opportunists like Trotsky and Bukharin and built a mighty socialist state.

The success of the Soviet revolution was a great inspiration not only to the working people of the advanced capitalist countries -- including the U.S. -- but to the oppressed, colored peoples of the East. Marxism-Leninism, the thoughts of Marx and Lenin, developed through years of revolutionary struggle, was the tool the Chinese people utilized in making their own revolution. With the political, moral and material help of the Communist International, led by the Soviet Union, the Chinese workers and peasants, the great majority of the people, carried on a long struggle, through many setbacks, until the final victory of their revolutionary war, and the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949. This entire struggle of the Chinese people, covering more than 20 years, was led by the Chinese Communist Party, headed by Chairman Mao, whose thought represents Marxism-Leninism at its highest stage in the present period. This explains the importance of the Little Red Book of "Quotations of Mao-tse-tung", many of which are reprinted in the Black Panther.

During their struggle to overthrow the landlords and the big capitalists, and drive their imperialist masters out of China, the Chinese people's closest ally was the Soviet Union, led by Stalin. As Mao himself wrote in December, 1959: "Stalin is the true friend of the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. No attempt to sow dissension, no lies and calumnies can affect the Chinese people's whole-hearted love and respect for Stalin and our genuine friendship for the Soviet Union."

But soon after Stalin died in 1953, the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and government was usurped by a handful of traitors -- revisionists like the notorious Liu Shao-chi, who today in China opposes the revolutionary leadership of Mao-tse-tung. While pretending to be communists, Khrushchev and his cronies began to reverse the Russian revolution, to convert the Russian Communist Party from the vanguard of the working people to the apparatus of a new privileged elite of capital-

ist exploiters. To do this, against the revolutionary will of the Soviet people, they cooperated with their buddies in the U.S.; the imperialist ruling class. From supporter of worldwide liberation movements, the Soviet government was turned into the concealed and even open opponent of wars of national liberation. The Soviet traitors developed the phony line that a single war of national liberation might be the spark that would set off a world war. But they were really concerned with preserving their privileged position and not getting their imperialist bosses mad at them. They wheeled and dealt with the imperialists, inside and outside the United Nations, to divide the world into Russian and American spheres of influence.

In opposition to all revolutionary struggle the Russian revisionists demanded pacifism as the part of the oppressed and exploited people who were directly under the boot of the imperialists. These renegades put forward the phony slogan of the "three peacefuls": "peaceful transition" from capitalism to socialism; "peaceful coexistence" between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors; and "peaceful cooperation" between themselves and their imperialist crime partners.

The record of the crimes of the Soviet revisionists is too long to repeat here, but the following is a brief outline of their worst misdeeds:

July 1959: Without any prior notice, they cancelled hundreds of aid agreements with the Chinese People's Republic and withdrew all Soviet aid, technicians, and blueprints from China -- leaving scores of factories and plants unfinished and causing temporary havoc to China's economy. This was the same thing the U.S. imperialists were doing to the Cuban people, after the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959.

July 1960: Voted in the U.N. Security Council to send U.S. controlled U.N. troops to the Congo, which led to the overthrow of the popular Congolese government of Patrice Lumumba and nationalized the Congo as a happy hunting ground for the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices.

1959 - 1962: Violently supported the Indian government, a pawn of U.S. imperialism, in its border provocations against, and direct invasion of, China. The Soviet Union furnished India with air-

planes and other military aid.

1955-1961: Withdrew all aid from the People's Republic of Albania, cut off aid from that heroic European socialist country, and publicly called for a coup against Enver Hoxha, leader of the Albanian Communist Party. (The Soviet revisionists were embarrassed and angered when the Albanian People's Republic, a small East European state, heavily de-

pendent on Soviet aid, said the Albanian people would rather eat grass than turn revisionist).

1961: Signed a pact with the U.S. and Britain to cease all atmospheric nuclear tests and tried to pressure all nations in the world to go along with the scheme to prevent China from developing an atom bomb and keep the monopoly of nuclear weapons in the hands

Continued on page 11

## Writings of Mao Tse-Tung

**Quotations:** The Little Red Handbook - Guide to Action of the Red Guards and The People's Liberation Army of China . . . 60¢

On People's War . . . 40¢  
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## CHINA BOOKS & PERIODICALS

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# Chinese People Repel Soviet Aggression



THE Soviet revisionists are the main enemy of the world's peoples today. They are the gangland bosses of a whole group of phony communist parties that followed the lead of the Soviet revisionists and became cogs in the machinery of oppression, run by the imperialists. In the U.S., the so-called "Communist Party" liberals do the dirty work of the imperialists by trying to convince the people that one group of slavemasters (such as the Democrats) is better than another (such as the Republicans). In Bolivia, the renegade Maoist betrayed the guerrilla struggle led by Che Guevara and was responsible for Guevara's death. In India, the old revisionist CP and the leadership of another, phony "Communist" party both oppose the uprisings of the Indian peasants and cooperate in the halls of bourgeois government with the capitalist parties.

The emergence of this worldwide revisionist betrayal has called forth a life-and-death struggle by genuine communists to uphold Marxism-Leninism. The first comrades to raise the banner of revolution against the revisionists were the leaders of the Albanian Communist Party, headed by Enver Hoxha, and the Communist Party of China, led by Mao-tse-tung. Today, the leader and center of the worldwide revolutionary movement -- waging a furious struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries -- is the People's Republic of China, relying on the Thought of Mao-tse-tung--Marxism-Leninism as its latest and highest stage of development -- this worldwide revolutionary movement supports and aids the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, in their armed confrontation with U.S. imperialism. It supports all rev-

olutionary working class and national liberation struggles, including the Black people's struggle for liberation from U.S. imperialism and monopoly capitalism. In the U.S. itself, the exploited workers of the mother country do not yet have a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist vanguard to lead them in struggle against the U.S. ruling class. The Black Panther Party, through many struggles and even some setbacks; through intense ideological struggle and self-criticism; through heroic resolve, self-sacrifice and determination to serve the people; is forging itself into a dedicated vanguard of the Black people's struggles. And it has inspired revolutionaries in the mother country to link up with the oppressed working masses to develop support for the liberation movements of black people and the peoples of the world, and begin building, among the mother country

working class itself, a true vanguard organization. In the world of Chairman Mao in his statement of April 16, 1965, in support of the black people's struggle: "The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal role of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class."

## Soviet Revisionism Betrays

At the Second International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples (January 22-25, 1969) in Cairo, the Soviet revisionists again showed that they are working hand-in-glove with the U.S. imperialists to defeat the armed liberation struggle of the Arab peoples. Though the Soviet revisionists themselves sponsored the so-called support conference, their proposal for a "political settlement" of the Middle East situation is a betrayal of the heroic struggle of the Arab peoples against U.S.-Israeli aggression. The Soviet revisionists advocated that the Arab peoples adhere to the resolution of the Middle East crisis which was designed by the U.S. imperialists and their Soviet revisionist co-conspirators in the U.N. Security Council in November, 1967. Failing even to acknowledge the armed Palestinian liberation struggle, the Soviet revisionists warned the Arab representatives at the conference that unless they reach a "political settlement" of the situation, developments in the Middle East will "lead to a dangerous aggravation of the explosive tension." Thus the Soviet revisionist clique clearly threatened the Arab peoples to halt their armed liberation struggle against the Israeli aggressors-backers of U.S. imperialism.

The heroic Arab peoples were not deceived by the cowardly growling of the Soviet revisionist running dogs-advocates of peaceful coexistence and "political settlements." The delegate to the conference from the Palestine National Liberation Movement (AL FATAH) clearly denounced the Soviet revisionist-U.S. imperialist conspiracy to defeat the Arab liberation with a "political settlement," he said:

We categorically reject the U.S. Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, and the subsequent Soviet and American proposals or any form of political settlement, because all such proposals skirt the right of the Palestinians to liberate their country and to restore their homeland.

We will never accept any substitutes to the national liberation which we will tenaciously hold on to, regardless of sacrifices and costs.

ARAB POWER TO THE ARAB PEOPLE



"If the army and the people are united as one, who in the world can match them?" The broad masses of commanders and fighters, while carrying out the task of producing in preparation against war, defend the coastal frontiers and safeguard the motherland together with the local people. Commander, fighters and volunteers study Mao Tse-tung's thought together and jointly carry out the task of preparation against war to make the six coats of our motherland an unbreakable Great Wall of steel.

## ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

of the two so-called "super-powers": the U.S. and Russia, along with their junior partner, England. (Early development of a nuclear bomb requires atmospheric testing. Later developments of MORE and DEEPER bombs requires only UNDERGROUND testing, which was continued at a heavy pace by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union). The Chinese people declared that they would never be the first to use nuclear weapons, and proposed the destruction of ALL such weapons, but the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists refused and the Chinese had no choice but to develop these weapons, at great cost to themselves, for SELF-DEFENSE. In 1965, the Soviet Union signed another joint declaration with the U.S. and British, designed to keep a monopoly of nuclear weapons in their criminal hands, and threatening reprisals against any other country that tried to develop nuclear weapons. (It hardly needs recalling that the U.S. imperialists are the only ones ever to USE these weapons -- which they did twice against the Japanese people in 1945. AFTER the Japanese government had offered to surrender!) In 1969 the Soviet revisionists are still wheeling and dealing with the U.S. imperialists -- through the current so-called non-proliferation treaty -- to maintain both as prime members of the nuclear club.

1966: The Soviet government extended credit to, signed an aid agreement with, and established close diplomatic relations with the fascist dictators of Indonesia, Suharto and Nasution, only a few months after these fascist Generals overthrew the anti-imperialist government of Sukarno murdered over a half a million Indonesian workers, peasants, students and communists; and turned over the oil fields and other valuable land and resources to the U.S. imperialists, especially Standard Oil.

1968: Carried out naked aggression against the people of Czechoslovakia, in collaboration with their revisionist junior partners in that country the Soviet imperialists are converting Czechoslovakia into an occupied neo-colony within the Soviet imperialist sphere of influence.

1960-69: Collaborated with the U.S. to set up a ring of hostile encirclement around People's China by establishing relationship and agreements with the reactionary ruling classes of Japan, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. The Soviet renegades have placed strong military forces at all Soviet-Chinese border areas and carried on numerous military and political provocations at these border areas.

1965-69: Met scores of times -- openly and in secret -- with representatives of the U.S. and British imperialists to work out joint strategy for ending the Vietnamese people's war of national liberation against U.S. imperialism, with the U.S. imperialists remaining in South Vietnam. The Vietnamese people, while they have accepted the limited military assistance offered by the Soviet revisionist trainers, have not fallen for the trap laid by these sellouts in collaboration with their imperialist masters.

1966-68: Failed, brutalized and repressed numerous demonstrators in Moscow who protested against imperialism and revisionism.

These crimes, and many others, expose the Soviet revisionist rulers for what they are today: Renegades, traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the peoples of the world, and the revolutionary tradition of the Soviet people and working class Social-Fascists, that is, socialist in name, fascist in fact; Social-Imperialist, that is, socialist in name, imperialist in fact.

Next to the U.S. IMPERIALISTS,



"We will not attack unless we are attacked., if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack."

**ARMED WITH MAO'S  
THOUGHT, THE  
CHINESE PEOPLE  
ARE INVINCIBLE**

James Webb Space Telescope: Detailed Description

Hundreds of Millions of Armymen and  
 Civilians Throughout China Angrily  
 Denounce Soviet Revisionist  
 Armed Provocation

[illegible]

**Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique Directs Soviet Frontier Guards to Flagrantly Intrude Into China's Territory**

**O**hio's Black & Tan festival serves as a reminder that the state's African American population is one of the most diverse in the nation. The festival, which is held annually in the city of Cincinnati, is a celebration of the state's African American heritage. The festival is held in the city of Cincinnati, which is one of the most diverse cities in the nation. The festival is held in the city of Cincinnati, which is one of the most diverse cities in the nation. The festival is held in the city of Cincinnati, which is one of the most diverse cities in the nation.

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Source: *Washington Post*, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033,

The good news, however, is that the 1990s are looking better than the 1980s. The 1990s are looking better than the 1980s. The 1990s are looking better than the 1980s.

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## WEST EUROPE THUNDERS: NIXON GO HOME!

Nixon had now U.S. Imperialist boss Richard Nixon wound up to his presidential seat after a month in office than he crossed the Atlantic, taking with him a huge force of armed bodyguards, two bullet-proof limousines, and got busy in Western Europe. That the American President had to journey here and there visiting "allies" in Western Europe at a time when inside the United States the struggle of the American people was mounting the fiercest and most serious crisis was worsening and strife within the ruling circles was growing more acute makes it still clearer that U.S. imperialism, torn by crises at home and abroad, is in a worse than ever predicament.

Nixon's 8-day (February 23 to March 2) itinerary took him to Belgium, Britain, West Germany, Italy and France. U.S. officialdom and press disclosed that the trip was designed to patch up the irreparable split in the imperialist bloc and make it possible for the United States to hold its ground in Western Europe by coaxing and cajoling the West European "allies" which had become increasingly resentful of U.S. control. On the other hand, it was intended to pave the way for the next round of bigger scale global counter-revolutionary deals with the Soviet revisionists. It was generally the belief of the Western press that Nixon's tour of Western Europe was a "prelude" to his "summit meeting" with the Soviet revisionist chiefs.

Much as Nixon had done before leaving Washington to work on public opinion to put his visit in a favorable light, it was not without with which the wakening people in Western Europe greeted the arrival of the august person. They welcomed the new U.S. imperialist boss with angry shouts of "Nixon, go home!"

**Belgium.** Belgium was the first stop in Nixon's tour. Before his arrival in Brussels, several hundred Belgian youths on the afternoon of February 23, waving flags of the South Vietnamese National Front for Liberation and shouting "U.S. imperialism get out!" "Out with NATO!" and other slogans, held a rally and demonstration in the heart of the capital to protest the visit. The Belgian authorities hurriedly evicted off the entire airport area when Nixon arrived in the evening. But more than 500 youths broke through the cordons soon after he got off the plane. Climbing on to airport runways, they shouted in one voice: "Nixon, go home!"

Recently, Sirhan Sirhan has been able to make statements during his trial. Finally we are able to hear from him the thoughts that led to the revolutionary action he carried out.

On the stand he told about the outrages of being forced out of a comfortable home in Jerusalem in 1947 when the Zionists militarily occupied Palestine. The family fled from West Jerusalem into a partially wrecked 300 year old building in the old walled city.

When he spoke of Jerusalem and his early childhood he recalled frequent bombings in the area of his home; looting for loot around an open hearth in the bombed-out building where seven or eight other families lived; hunger and severe thirst. People in his neighborhood died of starvation.

Mrs. Sirhan testified, "All our money gone; all our furniture gone; we didn't know where to lay our heads. We didn't have beds, we didn't even have a blanket for my baby... we slept on the floor and that was made of tile, it was drafty. It was dark. We used to go



British demonstrators carry "Nixon go home" placards to protest against visit to Britain by new U.S. imperialist boss Nixon.

**Britain.** Nixon flew into London, the second leg of his "working" trip, on February 24 amid roaring protests by the British people. Several hundred protesters demonstrated in front of the U.S. Embassy in Grosvenor Square. They shouted: "Nixon, go home!" "Yankies, go home!" "Fascist Nixon!" "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "People's war in Vietnam!" "Victory to Afro-Asian liberation struggle!"

Placards carried by demonstrators read: "Nixon, go home!" "U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger!" "Defeat U.S. and Soviet imperialist plot against the people of the world!" "Koolha, Wilson, Nixon all the same!" "U.S. aggressors, get out of Vietnam!" "Victory to Afro-Asian liberation struggle!"

Many demonstrators held aloft portraits of Chairman Mao and waved copies of the treasured red book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. They repeatedly shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!"

The protests and demonstrations alarmed Nixon. Large numbers of security forces were mobilized by U.S. and British police authorities to protect him. All buildings along the streets travelled by Nixon's car were under close guard by police and secret agents. The entire working staff in his hotel were replaced by detectives. Still, the Wilson government was apprehensive about Nixon's safety. Thus, according to the British press it had a "bullet-proof vest" especially made for the American President, just to make him feel a bit more "secure" during his 40-hour visit.

**West Germany and West Berlin.** Harshly leaving Britain on February 26, Nixon arrived by air in Bonn, West Germany, the same morning. People in Bonn tarred street walls in the American community with anti-U.S. slogans before his arrival. One read: "Yankies, get out of Vietnam!" Another had the

letter "X" in Nixon's name written as a "swastika," the Nazi emblem.

Nixon showed up in West Berlin the next day. The demonstrators' hostility poured forth at once on Nixon's arrival there. Escorted by a large police force, he was denounced by a mass of angry demonstrators who threw stones, bags of paint, snowballs and firecrackers at the motorcade as he rode through the centre of West Berlin in his bullet-proof limousine brought all the way from the United States. Waving red flags, the demonstrators shouted "U.S. fascist!" They burnt the U.S. flag and Nixon's portraits.

Marchers in the demonstration held high the red book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and evinced their respect for Chairman Mao with warm slogans.

**Italy.** Nixon landed in Rome on February 27. To ensure his "safety," the reactionary Italian authorities declared a ban on all mass demonstrations during Nixon's visit and moved tens of thousands of police and gendarmes from different parts of the country to the capital.

But the Italian people, who have a glorious tradition of struggle, defied the government ban and, undaunted by police suppression, took to the streets to voice their strong protest against the new U.S. imperialist chieftain. While Nixon was holding talks with Italian President Saragat in the presidential palace, about 10,000 people held a big demonstration near by. Among the demonstrators were workers, students and Africans and Arabs residing in Rome. The demonstrators gave vent to their indignation by shouting: "Nixon, hangman!" "Nixon, go home!" "Nixon, you are a paper tiger!" and other slogans, and held aloft placards reading "Get Italy out of NATO" and "Unite, carry the struggle everywhere against imperialism till victory!" as

they marched on to the presidential palace.

Many demonstrators expressed their affection for the great leader Chairman Mao. They shouted with warm feelings: "Mao Tse-tung! Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live Mao Tse-tung!"

**France.** From Italy Nixon flew to France on February 28 to complete the last leg of his 5-nation West European tour. Shortly before Nixon's arrival in Paris, groups after group of Parisian youths attacked U.S. monopoly capital's business establishments in downtown Paris, smashing many office windows of the Pan-American Airways, the American Express and the Hilton Hotel. Pamphlets protesting his visit were distributed by the demonstrators all along the route as Nixon rode from the airport to the centre of the French capital. Bitter eggs were flung at Nixon's motorcade. The demonstrating youths, holding aloft placards reading "Hell U.S. imperialism," shouted in unison "Nixon, assassin! Nixon, the God of Plagues, was thoroughly denounced."

On March 1, tens of thousands of workers and students from universities and lycées, defying the government ban and armed police threats, organized a mammoth demonstration to strongly protest the "visit" by the U.S. imperialist boss, the largest since last year's May-June revolutionary storm. Singing *The Internationale* and shouting "Nixon, assassin," they marched in a long procession through downtown Paris carrying red flags. The demonstrators were in a militant mood, and they burnt a dozen or so U.S. flags and several effigies of Nixon to show their hatred for U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people all over the world. Slogans denouncing U.S. imperialism appeared in many streets of the capital.

Nixon's predecessors Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, had at one time or another made "inspection tours" of Western Europe in the capacity of "protector" or "super boss" of the Western world. But the pomp and bluster of former days is fast disappearing, and the comradery of one administration becomes worse than the other. Today, Nixon's trip is only a ghost of his predecessors' trips. For years the surging tide of the revolutionary struggles of the people the world over has not only accelerated the decline of U.S. imperialism, but has considerably hastened the disintegration of the whole imperialist bloc with the United States at the head.

## SIRHAN -- A REVOLUTIONARY

thirsty for many days before we could get a drink of water."

She told of "explosions that blew victims to pieces, young men and women tortured and bloodied." Her son, Sirhan, was three years old then and after he saw one such incident, "he took a blanket and covered his face with it. He stayed in bed for two days. For two weeks he didn't want to take his little brother from near the house." Sirhan had fits of trembling after seeing blood, his Mother said, and shook for two weeks after seeing a neighbor's body against a fence.

"He became fearful of the Zionists?" his Mother was asked. "Yes," replied Mrs. Sirhan. Even in the face of statements like these, the racist prosecution tried to show on cross-examination that any anti-Jewish sentiments Sirhan developed were the result of prejudices he drew from others or things he read. As for the atrocities Mrs. Sirhan described, the state suggested that little effort was made to spare Sirhan the knowledge or sight of them. Testimonies like Sirhan's could

seen by the cases full in agencies of the power structure which document atrocities from Vietnam to Palestine. Sirhan Sirhan is a revolutionary. He became one because there was no other logical way to go in the face of the brutal occupation of his homeland.

Why Robert Kennedy, instead of Nixon or Reagan? Kennedy was a fence-sitter on the Middle East situation, making statements of sympathy for the plight of starving people everywhere one day, and the next day appearing with Zionist leaders and openly supporting the Israeli government. When the contradiction was seen by his victim, Sirhan, the reaction was fast and severe. The Nixons and Reagans are consistent, open fascists, and disgust is a usual feeling for them. But when a liberal asks for respect from third world people by "helping" and then deceived them by representing enemy interests, the liberal can expect a retaliation.

Issa Nakleh, Director of the Palestinian Arab Delegation to the U.N., was brought to Los Angeles

after Sirhan's recent outburst in the courtroom. He stated that he had been able to convey to Sirhan that he is a "great hero to Pal-

estines in the Middle East who look on him as a victim of the Zionists."



**OUSTED FROM HOMES.** Jordanian refugees make their way from west bank of Jordan river to Amman. After the cease-fire in Mideast war, Israeli soldiers forced them from their homes.



## 6 Students Arrested in Bronx As 100 Battle With Pigs

by Nick Frodenberg  
LIBERATION News Service

NEW YORK (LNS) — More than 100 protesters gathered March 2 at William H. Taft High School, in the Bronx, to picket the recent suspension of black high school student Ron Dicks.

The picket line grew as students stayed out of school to join the protest. The demonstration drew students from Taft and other nearby high schools, as well as parents and SDS people from New York University, Fordham and Columbia.

About 11 A.M. cops charged the picket line, isolated black student leaders and an SDS organizer, and beat them. Two victims were hospitalized.

Nine people were arrested on charges of possession of a deadly weapon, assault with a deadly weapon, resisting arrest, obstruction of government services, harassment and possession of marijuana.

Ron's suspension, which ignited the protest, is the latest in a series of repressive actions taken against Taft students since the end of the United Federation of Teachers strike last November.

At that time, the Taft UFT chairman Robert told Ron that he would get rid of the Black Student Union leaders no matter what he had to do.

Ron was suspended for allegedly distributing the BSN newspaper in the school. As it really happened, Robert asked Ron for a copy of the paper. Ron refused. Robert insisted, so Ron gave him a paper. Hence, his suspension for distributing literature on school grounds.

Other black leaders have been suspended on other trumped up charges.

After the March 3 protest, parents and students met to discuss further political action. The meeting was interrupted three times by police visitors — a cop on the beat, the bomb squad and the public relations officer of the local precinct.

On March 4, parents and students picketed again, this time with no cop reaction. The students issued demands, including the removal of cops from school grounds, reinstatement of suspended students and elimination of suspensions and expulsions altogether. Political activity continued throughout the week.

Despite popular protest against Ron's suspension, the local school voted eight to one against rescinding the suspension.

The Taft student body is about 55 per cent black and Puerto Rican and 45 per cent white working class. While black and white students at Taft have not been exactly close, there have been no actual battles between them like at other New York schools, despite the efforts of the administration to turn the races against each other.

"You should stay out of this," a teacher told a white student participating in the demonstrations. "It's a colored problem. You'll only get in trouble because of the militants."

At the same time, black students were told that they were being "used" by outside SDS agitators. One cop told an SDS organizer who was passing out leaflets, "Sorry we missed you today. Hope to see you tomorrow."

NO-SMOKING



## THE BLACK MAN'S ENEMY

The only proper purpose of a government is to protect a man's rights, which means to protect him from physical violence. A proper government is a force only against those who initiate the use of violence. The only proper functions of a government are: the police to protect you from criminals; the army to protect you from invaders; and the courts, to protect your property and contracts from breach and fraud by others, to settle disputes by rational rules, according to OBJECTIVE and IMPARTIAL law rather than the now prevalent practice of subjective and partial rulings. But a government that initiates the employment of force against minorities who have forced no one, the employment of armed compulsion against disarmed victims, is a systematic infernal system, designed to annihilate the so-called minority — YOU, the BLACK MAN. Such a government has reversed its only moral purpose and switched from the fictional role of protector to an open acknowledgment of being the Black Man's deadliest enemy, from the disguise of policeman to the role of criminal, vested with the right to wield violence against victims deprived of the right to self-defense.

This government has substituted for the morality of right and wrong the general rule of conduct which stipulates: you (racists within the power-structure) may inflict whatever you please upon the minorities providing your aggression is condoned rather than questioned by

the masses. Keep the populace ignorant of your true goals, until you are so strong and they so weak, that they have lost the intelligence, incentive, foresight or strength to counteract your final bid of enslavement.

The Black Man's mind is his basic tool of survival. Life is given to him, survival is not. His body is given to him, his substance is not. His mind is given to him, his contents are not. To remain alive he must act, and before he can act he must know the nature and purpose of his action. To remain alive he must THINK FOR HIMSELF, not absorb what is told to him by the media of the system, and substitute their propaganda for reality lived every day by the Black Man.

Do not help the system fake reality, honesty and so-called justice. That fakery is the only force holding off the system's secret fear, the fear and reality of knowing that they are unfit to exist; expose fakery and help the truth destroy them. Your consent is their ONLY grasp on life. WILL YOU GIVE THEM THIS LIFE???

Check out the organizations that are moving to help all people survive. We're concerned about peace for all mankind. If an organization is not moving toward this goal because it's an integral part of the political system, like the Supreme Court or the United Nations, or the police, if it stands in the way of these ideals, then it has to go into the trash can of history, and we won't mourn its passing.

Sincerely,  
Victim Lesley

## GEORGE MURRAY — POLITICAL PRISONER

Dynamite

George Mason Murray is as much a political prisoner as is Huey P. Newton. What crime put him in jail? After checking out the situation and reviewing the facts I can reach only one conclusion. America is once more guilty of repression against a voice that is out of harmony with her belabored anthem.

The only crime George is guilty of, is being Minister of Education

of the Black Panther Party; he is guilty to disagreeing with the way people are forced to live in this country. George is guilty of telling the truth and exposing the true nature of this racist decadent society. The powers that be, pigs that they are, seem to think that by stopping the voice of George Murray that they can stop the move of the people for liberation.

The people don't relate to George

being locked up like some wild animal. The people have no fear of George Murray as a matter of fact they love him. This was exemplified Sunday, March 16, 1969, when some one hundred people crowded the visiting area of the San Francisco Pig Department just to say hello and wish him well.

George's response to this scene was: "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE."

## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC PIGS KILL STUDENT DEMONSTRATOR

● SANTO DOMINGO, February 20 (PL). — Police killed a student here during a demonstration held to demand increased funds for the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo.

Several other students were wounded when the police, using clubs and tear-gas bombs, attempted to break up a demonstration of students marching through the streets in the vicinity of the University shouting slogans both against the Government and in support of their demands.

At the same time, professors and administrative personnel of the University united in a common front in the fight for increased funds for education.

It was also reported that a number of other demonstrations to the same end took place in several other places in the Dominican Republic.

In Barahona, on the southern coast of the Dominican Republic, students occupied the local branch of the Partido Reformista and set fire to a U.S. flag displayed in front of the office.

In Santiago, the second largest city, students threw stones and everything else they could get their hands on, as they marched past the First National City Bank and shouted slogans against the Government.

## U.S. MISSIONARY ENSLAVES BRAZILIAN INDIANS

● RIO DE JANEIRO, February 23 (PL). — A Baptist missionary from the United States has held a group of Indians enslaved in the Amazon region of Acre, near the Peruvian border, and has been using them to extract radioactive sand which he then secretly exports.

The above denunciation was made to the National Indian Foundation by a group of Brazilian students who had been in the territory of Acre, encountering inhuman conditions and Indians who spoke only English.

The unusual finding served as the basis

for an investigation into the activities of a strange U.S. missionary, whose name was not given.

The students pointed out that the younger people there did not even know their own local dialect.

The missionary, it would appear, had also introduced contraceptive methods among the Indians, for the students found that there were no children there under four. The Yankee missionary has been in the region exactly four years.

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## The Black Man's Stake in Vietnam

By ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
Minister of Information

The most critical tests facing Johnson are the war in Vietnam and the Negro revolution at home. The fact that the brains in the Pentagon are fit to send 16 per cent black troops to Vietnam is one indication that there is a structural relationship between these two areas of conflict. And the initial outrageous refusal of the Georgia Legislature to send representative Jett Lee Bond, because he denounced the aggressive U.S. role in Vietnam, shows too, the very intimate relationship between the way human beings are being treated in Vietnam and the treatment they are receiving here in the United States.

We live today in a system that is in the last stages of the protracted process of breaking up on a worldwide basis. The rulers perceive the greatest threat to be the national liberation movements around the world, particularly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In order for them to wage wars of suppression against these national liberation movements abroad, they must have peace and stability and unanimity of purpose at home. But at home there is a Trojan Horse, a black Trojan Horse that has become aware of itself and is now struggling to get on its feet. It too, demands liberation.

What is the purpose of the attention that the rulers are now focusing on the Trojan Horse? Is it out of a newfound love for the horse, or is it because the rulers need the horse to be quiet, to be still, and not cause the rulers, already with their backs to the wall, any trouble or embarrassment while they force the war in Vietnam? Indeed, the rulers have need of the horse's power on the fields of battle. What the black man in America must keep constantly in mind is that the doctrine of white supremacy, which is a part of the ideology of the world system the power structure is trying to preserve, lets the black man in for the greatest portion of the suffering and hate which white supremacy has dished out to the non-white people of the world for hundreds of years. The white-supremacy-oriented white man feels no compassion about massacring "niggers" than he does about massacring any other race of people on the earth. This historically indisputable fact, taken with the present persistent efforts of the United States to wage the Soviet Union into an alliance against China, spells DANGER to all the peoples of the world who have been victims of white supremacy. If this

sweetharting proves successful, if the United States is finally able to make a match with Russia, or if the U.S. can continue to frighten the Soviet Union into reneging on its commitments to international socialist solidarity (about which the Soviets are always trumpeting, while still allowing the imperialist aggressors to daily bomb the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam), and if the U.S. is able to unleash its anxious fury and armed might against the rising non-white giant of China, which is the real target of U.S. strategy the world over -- if the U.S. is successful in these areas, then it will be the black man's turn again to face the butcher and burner of the world and face him alone.

Black Americans are too easily deceived by a few smiles and friendly gestures, by the passing of a few liberal-sounding laws which are left on the books to rot unenforced, and by the mushy speechmaking of a President who is a past master of talking out of the thousand sides of his mouth. Such poetry does not guarantee the safe future of the black people in America. The black people must have a guarantee, they must be certain, they must be sure beyond all doubt that the reign of terror is ended and not just suspended, and that the future of their people is secure. And the only way they can secure this is to gain organizational unity and communication with their brothers and allies around the world, on an international basis. They must have this power. There is no other way. Anything else is a sellout of the future of their people. The world of today was fashioned yesterday. What is leveled here, what is being leveled right now, is the shape of power in the world tomorrow.

The American racial problem can no longer be spoken of or solved in isolation. The relationship between the genocide in Vietnam and the annihilation of the white man toward black Americans is a direct relationship. Once the white man solves his problem in the East he will then turn his fury again on the black people of America, his longtime punching bag. The black people have been tricked again and again, sold out at every turn by misleaders. After the Civil War, America went through a period similar to the one we are now in. The Negro problem received a full hearing. Everybody knew that the black man had been denied justice. No one doubted that it was time for changes and that the black man should be made a first class

citizen, but Reconstruction ended. Blacks who had been elevated to high positions were brutally kicked out into the streets and herded along with the masses of blacks into the ghettos and black belts. The lynchers and the burners received virtual licenses to murder blacks at will. White Americans found a new level on which to cool the blacks out. And with the help of such tools as Booker T. Washington, the doctrine of segregation was clamped firmly onto the backs of the blacks. It has taken a hundred years to struggle up from that level of cool-out to the miserable position that black Americans find themselves in. Time is passing. The historical opportunity which world events now present to black Americans is running out with every tick of the clock.

This is the last act of the show. We are living in a time when the people of the world are making their final bid for full and complete freedom. Never before in history has this condition prevailed. Always before there have been more or less articulate and aware pockets of people, portions of classes, etc., but today's is an era of mass awareness, when the smallest man on the street is in rebellion against the system which has denied him life and which he has come to understand robs him of his dignity and self-respect. Yet he is being told that it will take time to get programs started, to pass legislation, to educate white people into accepting the "physically impossible, to move as fast as the black man would live to move. Black men are deadly serious when they say FREEDOM NOW. Even if the white man wanted to eradicate all traces of evil overnight, he would not be able to do it because the economic and political system will not permit it. All talk about going too fast is treacherous in the black man's future.

What the white man must be brought to understand is that the black man in America today is fully aware of his position, and he does not intend to be tricked again into another hundred-year furl of freedom. Not for a single moment or for any price will the black man now rising up in America settle for anything less than their full proportionate share and participation in the sovereignty of America. The black man has already come to a realization that to be free it is necessary for him to throw his life -- everything -- on the line, because the oppressors refuse to understand that it is now impossible for them to come up with another trick to squelch the black revolution. The black man can't afford to take a chance. He can't afford to put things off. He must stop the whole NOW and get his business straight, because if he does not do it now, if he fails to grasp securely the reins of this historic opportunity, there may be no tomorrow for him.

The black man's interest lies in seeing a free and independent Vietnam, a strong Vietnam which is not the puppet of international white supremacy. If the nations of Asia, Latin America, and Africa are strong and free, the black man in America will be safe and secure and free to live in dignity and self-respect. It is a cold fact that while the nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America were shackled in colonial bondage, the black American was held tightly in the vise of oppression and not permitted to utter a sound of protest of any effect. But when these nations started looking for their freedom, it was then that black Americans were able to seize the chance; it was then that the white man yielded what little he did -- out of sheer necessity. The only lasting salvation for the black American is to do all he can to see to it that the African, Asian, and Latin American nations are free and independent.

In this regard, black Americans



have a big role to play. They are a black Trojan Horse within white America and they number in excess of 20,000,000 strong. That is a lot of strength. But it is a lot of weakness if it is disorganized, and the overriding need is for unity and organization. Unity is on all black lips. Today we stand on the verge of sweeping change in this wretched landscape of a thousand little fragmented and ineffectual groups and organizations unable to work together for the common cause. The need for one organization that will give one voice to the black man's common interest is felt in every bone and fiber of black America.

Yesterday, after firmly repudiating racism and breaking his ties with the Black Muslim organization, the late Malcolm X launched a campaign to transform the American black man's struggle from the narrow plea for "civil rights" to the universal demand for human rights, with the ultimate aim of bringing the United States government to task before the United

government. They must let their voice be heard on these issues. They must let the world know where they stand.

It is no accident that the U.S. government is sending all three black troops to Vietnam. Some people think that Vietnam is to kill off the cream of black youth. But it has another important result. By turning her black troops into the butchers of the Vietnamese people, America is spreading hate against the black race throughout Asia. Even black Africans find it hard not to hate black Americans for being so stupid as to allow themselves to be used to slaughter another people who are fighting to be free. Black Americans are considered to be the world's biggest fools to go to another country to fight for something they don't have for themselves.

It bothers white racists that people around the world love black Americans but find it impossible to give a similar warm affection to white Americans. The white racist knows that he is the ugly



Nations. This, and the idea of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, was Malcolm's dying legacy to his people. It did not fall on barren ground. Already, black American leaders have met with the ambassadors of Black Africa at a luncheon at UN headquarters. The meaning of this momentous event is lost on no one. The fact that it was the issue of Julian Bond, his denunciation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and the action of racial elements in the Georgia legislature which brought the leaders of black clearer recognition to black men that their interests are also threatened by the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. This dovetailing of causes and issues is destined to bring to fruition the other dream which Malcolm's assassination prevented him from realizing: the Organization of Afro-American Unity, or perhaps a similar organization under a different name. Black Americans now realize that they must organize for the power to change the foreign and domestic policies of the U.S.

American and he wants the black American to be ugly, too, in the eyes of the world; misery loves company! When the people around the world cry "Yahweh, Go Home!" they mean the white man, not the black man who is a recently freed slave. The white man is deliberately trying to make the people of the world turn against black Americans, because he knows that the day is coming when black Americans will need the help and support of their brothers, friends and solidarity around the world. If through stupidity or by following hand-picked leaders who are the secret agents of the power structure, black Americans allow this strategy to succeed against them, then the time comes and they need this help and support from around the world; it will not be there. All of the international love, respect, and goodwill that black Americans now have around the world will have dried up. They themselves will have buried it in the mud of the rice paddies of Vietnam.





## U.S. TROOPS AND VIETNAM

By Dick Roberts

"Fully half" the U.S. troops in Vietnam are "against the war to some extent," the noted Chicago Daily News correspondent George Ann Geyer concluded after covering the war for six months.

"Many of these men say the experience of Vietnam has led them to a deep cynicism and skepticism about many of their country's motives and actions."

These highly significant observations about the attitudes and morale of U.S. soldiers in the war were covered in a five-article series in the Chicago Daily News beginning Jan. 13. The CDN press service is nationally syndicated.

In essence, Miss Geyer found that the same, but "much more heralded revolutions on the campus, in the ghetto and in American political and social structures" are going on in the Army in Vietnam. "It has an Old Right, a New Left, a large middle ground, some aimless existentialists and a number of confused officers."

There is significant antiwar movement among the troops. "Side by side with the highly professional group which tends to view warfare

as a technical endeavor, is a large and vociferous group that frankly does not believe in the war and says so with smug candor."

This group, which includes "many of the best educated of the young officers," in particular questions "the rights and wrongs of the Vietnam war and American involvement in it."

The biggest factor that has turned GIs in Vietnam against the war, according to Miss Geyer, is that blatant corruption of the Saigon regime these soldiers are being asked to defend.

"It is certainly one of the first times in history that soldiers have admired the enemy more than they admire their allies."

Notable was this sentiment even among relatively high-ranking officers. "How can you have land reform when all the landowners are the officials in Saigon?" a lieutenant colonel asked Miss Geyer.

A colonel complained to her "Every day I go into the office of a Vietnamese major to get a pass for my chauffeur. Every day his aid tells me, 'The major's not here.' I see people going in with papers for him to sign and coming out with them signed."

Another officer was asked "But

what about the Viet Cong?" He replied, "They're different. They believe in something. They have something to fight for. They believe in equality. They've created a unified society."

Not the sort of brass one runs into in bases around the country? He went even further. Miss Geyer told him, "You sound like you think we're on the wrong side."

"I've sometimes wondered," he answered "The thing is that I don't think communism is all bad. It's one way organizing life, one way of doing things. What right do we have to tell these people how to live their lives? What right do we have to be here?"

An NCO told Miss Geyer that most Vietnamese are against the U.S. "My area is 95 percent North Vietnamese. You go into the hills. The people won't tell you a thing."

He described "interrogation": "I go out and pick up civilians — any civilians — and we put them in the chopper and bring them back to interrogate. We take all their rice, so they hardly have enough left to eat."

"Here you're in a state of suspended animation. It's a dehumanized life."

Miss Geyer's report actually is not startling. In Vietnam Wash-

ington is using the most advanced weapons of modern warfare in a genocidal assault against a population that continues an irrepressible struggle for freedom. That's pretty hard to swallow — especially when you're staring it in the face day after day.

It is interesting to note that in Miss Geyer's report most of the quotes were from officers — and even some fairly high-ranking brass at that. This suggests that the enlisted men are a bit judicious in talking to reporters.

Enlisted men have the right to speak their opposition to the war — it is guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Soldiers are no different from any other American citizens in this respect.

But in order to ensure their being able to exercise this right they need the organized support of the civilian antiwar movement. The antiwar movement outside the army can mobilize the legal aid, the public support the EMS need in their fight against the war.

Besides the day to day work of organizing this support, it is also important that the antiwar movement inside and outside the Army conduct major mobilizations that will focus national attention on the troop opposition to U.S. war.

It is one thing for brass at a base to try to silence GIs on that base; quite different when they are trying to keep them from participating in a demonstration which is nationally known — and moreover widely supported by the civilian population.

These points were recently emphasized by an antiwar GI, Sherman Strin, who explained them at a GI workshop in Washington, D.C. Jan. 18. Stationed at Ft. Belvoir, Va., Strin has been able to ward off victimization for his antiwar views with the support of the antiwar movement.

Strin pointed out that after the big antiwar march led by 500 GIs at San Francisco, last Oct. 12, there have been only two victimizations. It's "because it's legal and they know the trouble they're going to get" if they press charges, Strin said.

It is this kind of thinking inside and outside the service that underlines the importance of the national antiwar actions which have been set for seven areas for Easter Sunday, April 6.

Further information on the April 6 action can be obtained from the New York headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee, 357 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

## NEW YORK BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Harlem Branch  
206 Seventh Ave.  
New York, N.Y. 10007  
664-8961

To the people of the community:  
How many children in our community go to school on empty stomachs? How can our children begin to acquire even basic skills in school on an empty stomach? If we take an empty stomach and add a totally inadequate lunch, what do we have?

Let us work together and send our children to school full of hot food and energy. If the schools and the Board of Education won't do it, WE will.

The Harlem Branch of the Black Panther Party would like to work with the community in instituting a breakfast program for our children. There are many ways you can work with us. A church or community center is needed to provide the facility for preparing and serving the breakfast. Businesses

in the community are being asked to donate the necessary food and utensils. The mothers, grandmothers and guardians of the children of the community are asked to volunteer just a few morning hours to this project.

If you would like more information, or would like to pledge your support, you can call the Black Panther Party office in Harlem at 664-8961 or come by 206 Seventh Avenue, just north of 121 Street.

Enclosed is a brief outline of the plan with a proposed menu, and a copy of our ten point program and platform. Join with us in feeding our children!

— POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

### THE PLAN

1. Meetings with parents associations, church groups, and community groups will be held to discuss the project and invite assistance.

2. Meetings with the businessmen of the community will be arranged to discuss the roles that they can play in contributing to this community project.

3. Two schools — one elementary and one junior high school will be chosen by the community as pilot projects.

4. A church or community center in the neighborhood of the schools will be asked to provide facilities for the preparation and serving of the food.

5. Car pools will be set up to pick up the food on specific days for the weekly breakfast period.

6. Several members of the Black Panther Party will be assigned to each food center to work with the parents of the area on cooking, serving, and clean-up crews.

### SUGGESTED MENU

MONDAY  
Beef bacon, sausages  
fried or scrambled eggs

whole wheat or rye toast  
orange juice  
milk, oatmeal, or cocoa  
vitamin pills  
teaspoon cod liver oil

TUESDAY  
Pancakes with fruit, syrup  
beef sausage

WEDNESDAY  
Home fried potatoes  
beef sausage  
fried or scrambled eggs  
fresh fruit, bread

THURSDAY  
Waffles with fruit, syrup  
grape juice

FRIDAY  
Beef bacon  
scrambled eggs  
orange juice  
biscuits

\*to be served every day  
If you would like to pledge your support to help provide a hot

breakfast for our school children, please return this form to us as soon as possible, or call us at 664-8961.

Mail To:  
Breakfast  
Black Panther Party  
New York, N.Y. 10027

I pledge support of this program as an (circle one) individual, Community, Organization, Church.

Name:  
Organization:  
Address:  
Telephone No.:

Note: Branches of the Black Panther Party from coast to coast are in the process of instituting this breakfast program. It is operating successfully in several areas already. Without the support of the people of the community we can do nothing. With the people, we can do everything.

— ALL POWER TO ALL THE PEOPLE — ALL POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE!



# DARE TO STRUGGLE

The idea of a revolution is a revolutionary concept. The power of this racist nation is beyond the comprehension of the human mind. Racist America has one of the largest standing armies on the face of the earth. This army has more guns, grenades, tanks and modernized weapons than any other nation in existence. This racist nation has the most omnipresent navy in the world. Its ships and planes constitute more destructive capability than a combination of 10 Asian nations. The Air Force has more and better planes than any other nation. These planes can carry every bomb load conceivable, including hydrogen bombs. The American military machine is the most hideous device ever imagined for enslaving the people. It is because America chooses to enslave the world that we must resist her.

America's power extends beyond her capability to enslave the world, because her power goes beyond that which she also goes beyond that stage. She enslaves her black population, she colonizes (Black Africa-America). She achieves this enslavement and colonization in the same oppressive manner that she enslaves the world, with massive military force. Within the confines of racist America there are one million pigs and approximately as many national guardsmen. These two forces for aggression against the people. These forces are equipped with tanks, planes, gas, atomic weapons, machine guns, flamethrowers etc. These weapons are employed to suppress the people in America. They are the masters tools for maintaining his position of supremacy.

The spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology. Huey P. Newton. This is a very relevant statement by the Minister of Defense. It speaks to all the conditions which have been described. The awesome power of racist America is not to be feared, but understood. The fact that America has stockpiled arms within her borders clearly shows that she has a correct political understanding. America is facing her doom at the hands of her oppressed slaves. People have always been the shapers of world history. It is necessary to recognize the courageous stand of the people and the Vanguard Party. They stand as an impenetrable wall to the oppressor. They will evolve from a wall to a tide of revolutionaries dedicated to destroying the racist fascist, capitalist existing structure and reconstructing a society based upon the needs of the people. All this will come to pass because as chairman Mao says we will "Dare to struggle and Dare to Win."

PANTHER POWER  
ODINCA



Chicago: Tom Hayden has been found guilty of letting the air out of a police car's tires and spitting at a cop last August. He was sentenced to one year on probation. Hayden, as a staffer of the Mobilization Committee, helped organize demonstrations at last August's Democratic national convention.



ERGEANT Mobutu, the all-powerful ruler of the Kinshasa Republic of the Congo, thanks to the backing of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, has obviously succeeded in buttressing his power, during this first round, helped along by the obvious and increasing weaknesses of the Congolese revolutionary movement and the support of those — some of them well-intentioned — who consider Mobutu a temporary solution to the Congolese problem, which has cost so many tens of thousands of lives, beginning long before February 13, 1961, the date of Patrice Lumumba's assassination by troops at the service of the United Nations, with the direct participation of Moïse Tshombe and Joseph Mobutu.

Leopoldville has adopted the name of Kinshasa, and Lumumba, martyr of the African Revolution, has been declared a national hero of the Congo by no less a person than Mobutu, one of his murderers. The latter has also established a political party and begun a grass-roots campaign of political activities in neighborhoods, plantations and factories peopled or staffed by the Congolese masses, and it certainly must be admitted that he has succeeded in confusing a considerable segment of the people, abetted by the lack of real, effective, practical and steady opposition on the part of the revolutionary movement.

The period 1964-65 was a time of glorious struggle for the Congolese people. Then the National Council of Liberation sustained three zones of operation, where



## TO DEFEND LUMUMBA

thousands of Congolese patriots, organized into guerrilla units, fought against Tshombe's rule. At that time the second zone of operations, the Eastern Front, was commanded by Laurent Kavila, aided by Massengo as Chief of Staff. By the beginning of 1966, however, the Eastern Front had been completely broken up. The offensive launched by Tshombe's troops, backed by South African and Belgian mercenaries under the command of the blood-thirsty Mike Hoare, had not been repelled. And this was not essentially because of their military superiority, but rather because of the vacillations of those who, when they should have been at the heads of their fighting columns, risking their lives for their country's liberation, placidly gave battle from their city headquarters, enjoying the benefits of an urban life entailing no risks, mapping out "strategies," although they were no experts in strategy. Such were Laurent Kavila, whose command post was located in a well-furnished apartment in Kigoma (in the Republic of Tanzania), and Massengo, who is not known to have personally led a single action against the imperialist troops in the East.

There can be no doubt that the patriots on the Eastern Front fought bravely and resolutely at the beginning. Proof of this were the attacks in mid-1965 on the Front de Force Garrison and on the School for Special Anti-Guerrilla Troops, where the guerrillas gave innumerable signs of their fearlessness and where dozens fell, and not only the sons of the Congo itself but of other peoples as well, who there had made a solemn internationalist pledge to defend the principles of Lumumba unto death. However, the scant participation of the leaders in the daily course of the war gave rise to a lack of ideology, of combat discipline — affected adversely by tribal and religious prejudices — of readiness for daily sacrifice and death, in the majority of the combatants. These were even promised a monthly wage, as though they were part of a professional army and not revolutionary combatants fighting not only for their own liberation but also for the liberation of Africa from one of the most loathsome neocolonialisms ever known. An outstanding casualty was the loss of Comrade Mitidji in an accident on Lake Tanganyika. He was a complete revolutionary, fully aware of the movement's weak points and willing to face up to them in a search for practical solutions.

In the third zone of operations the same weaknesses prevailed, also culminating in the collapse of the guerrilla movement, following Gbenye's and Kanza's unquestionable failure of nerve.

The first zone of operations was the only one to stand up after 1966. Only a few months ago, however, its commander in chief, Pierre Muléle, legendary guerrilla, failing to recall the experience of Lumumba, the martyr, placed his confidence in forces which were not exactly those of the people in arms and naively delivered himself up to Mobutu, influenced perhaps by lack of support, the growing division in the ranks of the Congolese revolutionary movement and the long years of solitary revolutionary struggle he had sustained. In his letter of August 5, 1966, Muléle issued an appeal to conscience for the unity of the Congolese revolutionary movement, stating: "The Revolution is not for the PSA or for the MNC or for any other party which may wish to claim a monopoly on it. It is for the revolutionary cause in particular and the Congolese cause in general — which must unite us." Two years later, however, Muléle was assassinated by Mobutu, who had received a direct order to do so from a high-ranking U.S. official when the ruler was on a stopover in Morocco on his way back to Leopoldville.

Clearly Pierre Muléle, who had diminished the grandeur of his revolutionary stature in returning to Leopoldville, was then abandoning the necessary path, the only one which can first curb and then destroy forever, not only Mobutu but everything his rule of puppets and brass hats represents. The war cannot be waged against the figure of Mobutu. Certain revolutionaries, once more indulging

in "naïveté," even tried to make contact with the mercenary forces of Katanga (which, in 1967, were fighting against Mobutu), failing to understand that even if this government got backing and succeeded in staying in power with the aid of the U.S. Government and the direct participation of the Yankee Green Berets, the Katanga mercenaries also represented imperialism and that the objective of both the mercenaries and Mobutu was the same — namely, to guarantee the exploitation of the country's vast wealth by imperialism, the true and fundamental enemy of the Congolese people and of humanity in general.

It is impossible to combat or destroy the strongholds of imperialism in the Congo while so-called revolutionaries such as Zénon Muzemba — who returned to Leopoldville with Muléle and chose to ignore the fate of the latter — continue to encourage divisionism within the movement itself, splits based on questions of international politics and completely unrelated to the advancement of the Congolese people's liberation struggle, or while there are theoreticians such as Nima, who committed himself to leadership of the revolutionary movement and then, after only three days on the march to lend moral and material support to the combatants of the Front (headed at the time by Muléle), abandoned his men and once more chose the safety of life in a friendly capital. Following the political programs worked out by Botchway and Kasimbura (both of whom have been reported dead on the Eastern Front as a result of internal strife), which are based fundamentally on the organization of a political party to head up the struggle they themselves were unable to wage, will not be conducive to success.

Seeds of hatred and divisionism have been planted, and the fruit they have borne has been only the strengthening of Mobutu's position. And those responsible can be found in the ranks of the revolutionary movement itself.

Today, eight years after the death of Lumumba, there is only one way to defend the principles for which he died in the cause of African liberation.

Placing our faith in Mobutu, abandoning the revolutionaries of the Congo because of internal differences, because of political weaknesses and indecision, will never get us onto the road of the Congolese Revolution.

Certain revolutionary groups, not affiliated with any Congolese party or organization, are prepared to renew and advance the liberation struggle. The CNL, under the leadership of Gaston Soumialot, has once more stated that it is prepared to advance the armed struggle. Thus, most of the leaders of that organization have left Cairo. Moreover, rumors seem to indicate that Kavila has once again taken up the revolutionary struggle, after having lived comfortably for the past two years in various capitals of East Africa. In addition, certain CNL spokesmen have stated that the Eastern Front has held on and that it is making progress in organization.

To those who are prepared, over and above all other considerations, to offer up their lives as a contribution to victory, we wish to stress our readiness to stand side by side with them, and we send them our encouragement and militant support, but we urge the fulfillment of one absolutely necessary condition — namely, that they stand up for, put into practice and prove their conscientious dedication to the revolutionary cause, that the writings and trips to African capitals cease, as well as the expressions of demoralization at the lack of support from those who historically should be lending it, and that they fully promote and utilize that great invincible force represented by their people. They must become sufficient unto themselves by facing up to these issues and growing greater in resisting difficulties. The memory of Lumumba is to be defended in direct and determined confrontation with imperialism in the fight unto victory or death.

• A. Zepato



## October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program

# What We Want What We Believe

**1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.**

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.



**FREE HUEY**

*Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party*

**2. We want full employment for our people.**

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

**3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.**

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

**4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.**

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

**5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.**

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

**6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.**

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

**7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.**

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

**8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.**

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

**9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.**

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

**10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.**

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



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## THE BLACK PANTHER



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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

**BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER**  
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.  
BERKELEY, CALIF.

## RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

## THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings, of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10 program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expect a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Orders.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two books per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept goods, poverty loans, money or any other aid from any government agency without consulting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 POINTS OF  
ATTENTION

- 1) Speak politely.
- 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- 3) Return everything you borrow.
- 4) Pay for anything you damage.
- 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- 6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
- 7) Do not take liberties with women.
- 8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF  
DISCIPLINE

- 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- 2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
- 3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.





## SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE

PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself.

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had 'police records,' but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.'" (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of

his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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### INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend Eldridge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

I enclose \_\_\_\_\_ to assist the legal expenses and the Committee's campaign to publicize and promote Eldridge Cleaver's defense.

I can volunteer some time to help the Committee \_\_\_\_\_

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Robert Scheer, Director



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# BLACK PEOPLE: KEEP YOUR GUNS

## CALIFORNIA AND FEDERAL GUN LAWS

This article is to serve as a guide for the members of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and is not to be construed as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

12001 -- A concealable firearm is any firearm having a barrel less than 12 inches in length.

12025 -- Any person caught with a concealable firearm CONCEALED on their person or within any vehicle is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12026 -- No license is required for any citizen 18 years or over to keep a legal weapon in their home or place of business. (Some weapons require federal registration.)

12027 -- Persons exempt from Section 12025 includes members of any club or organization organized for the purpose of practicing shooting at targets upon established target ranges, whether public or private, while such members are using firearms upon such target ranges, or while going to and from such ranges.

12031 -- Except as provided in subdivision (b), every person who carries a loaded firearm on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place or on any public street in any incorporated city or in any public place or on any public street in a prohibited area of unincorporated territory is guilty of a misdemeanor.

(b) Persons who are using target ranges for the purpose of practice shooting with a firearm, or who are members of shooting clubs while hunting on the premises for such clubs.

(c) In order to determine whether or not a firearm is loaded, pigs are authorized to examine any firearm carried by anyone on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place. Refusal to allow a pig to inspect a firearm constitutes probable cause for arrest.

(h) Nothing in this section is intended to preclude the carrying of any loaded firearm, under circumstances where it would be otherwise be lawful, by a person who reasonably believes that the person or property of himself or another is in immediate danger and that the carrying of such a weapon is necessary for the preservation of such person or property.

(i) Nothing in this section shall prevent any person from having a loaded weapon, if it is otherwise lawful, at his place of residence, including any temporary residence or campsite.

12552 -- Every person who furnishes any firearm, air gun, or gas-operated gun, designed to fire a bullet, pellet or metal projectile, to any minor under the age of 18 years, without the expressed or implied permission of the parent or legal guardian of the minor, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12560 -- Any felon who owns, has in his possession or under his custody or control any firearm is punishable by imprisonment in the State Prison not exceeding 15 years, or in a county jail not exceeding one year and/or by a fine not exceeding \$500.

## FEDERAL LAW

(1) Title X of the Civil Rights Act provides that anyone who demonstrates, manufactures, transports, or teaches the use of firearms, explosives, or incendiary devices for use in riots or civil disorders may be imprisoned for up to 5 years and fined \$10,000.

(2) Title VII of the Crime Control Act states that felons, veterans discharged other than honorably, mental incompetents, aliens illegally in the United States, or former U.S. citizens who have renounced their citizenship, who possess, receive, or transport interstate any firearm may be punished by a fine of \$10,000.

(3) The National Firearm Act requires that a \$200 tax be paid on each transfer of any fully automatic firearm, rifles with barrels under 16 inches, shotguns with barrels under 18 inches, any rifle or shotgun under 26 inches overall, or silencers. The Act also requires that the \$200 tax be paid on the making of any firearm that meets the specifications listed above.

## THE FOLLOWING LAWS BECAME EFFECTIVE ON DECEMBER 16, 1968

(1) Only a licensed manufacturer or dealer may ship or transport interstate any firearm (other than a rifle or a shotgun) or any ammunition to anyone but a licensed dealer or manufacturer. (Licensed importers may also ship and receive all firearms and ammunition interstate.)

(2) No one but a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may receive in his state of residence any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun) that has been obtained by him outside his state of residence.

(3) Only a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may give, trade, transfer, transport, or deliver any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun) to anyone living in another state.)

(4) To receive or transport into any state a firearm that cannot be legally purchased in that state is a federal offense.

(5) Only a licensed dealer, importer, or manufacturer may ship or transport in interstate commerce any automatic weapon or any sawed-off shotgun or rifle.

(This article is not intended as a substitute for competent legal counsel.)

## POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes. You should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls -- one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 845-0103 (845-0104), and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time ends on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

## BLACK BOOKS



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**BREAKFAST FOR  
SCHOOL CHILDREN**

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is working with and for St. Augustine Episcopal Church's program: breakfast in the morning for Oakland's school children in the black community.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in Junior High Schools can receive free, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of these breakfasts will start one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 27th and West, and the Black Community Center, at 42nd and Grove Streets, EVERY SCHOOL MORNING.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with this revolutionary program of making sure that our young have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have had this program instituted a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty? Black people in the Black Community—mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the Black community where racism oppresses us — are asked to come forth to work and support this needed program. Soul food: grits, eggs, bread, and meat for the stomachs is where it's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. LET'S DO IT NOW. Support this community program.

Those who want to volunteer their work every morning or every other morning can come to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 3100 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley or contact Father Niel at these numbers: 534-5184, 853-1016. Interested persons may also contact Ruth Bookford Smith at 853-8211 or sign up with other community people and citizens for full stomachs and better education of black children.

We urge as many mothers and other black citizens as possible to unite with this COMMUNITY-BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM. We are also asking all businesses throughout the black community to donate the necessary food and utensils to prepare the foods for our children. Call the Black Panther Office at 845-0107 or 845-0104. Everything of value donated to BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN is tax deductible. Items or funds may be sent c/o St. Augustine Episcopal Church. Just let us know, both black and white communities and citizens, what you can donate to money, time, etc.

Thank you

**BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN**

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